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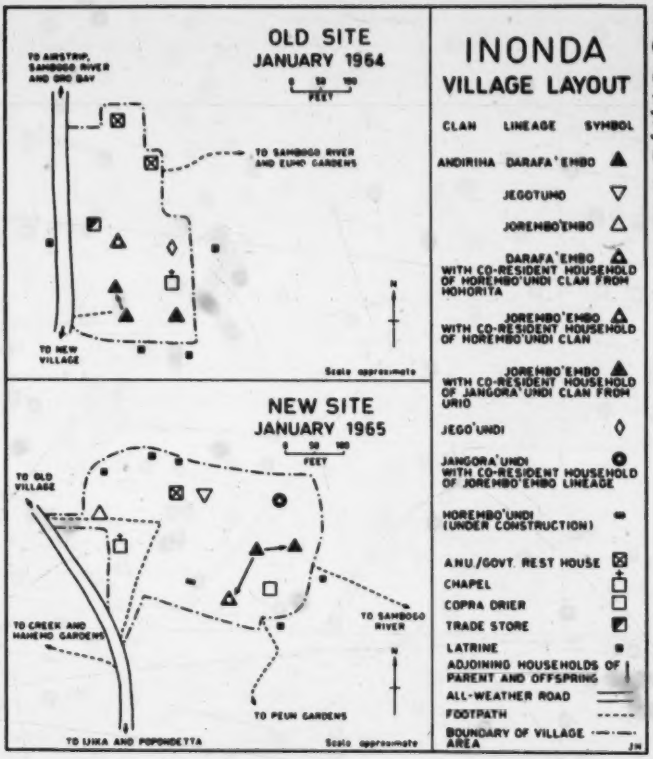

Fig. 4. Inonda village layout.

The leader, a government driver, earned about 65 per cent of the total cash income of the whole village, not only in wages but also through various enterprises on the side. He was the lay preacher as well. The only limit to his influence was the unwillingness of the pagan faction to become involved in 'modern' activities of which he was the champion. 105 622 177

Ecologically, Inonda is characteristic of the alluvial plains region to the east of the mountain. It lies between 200 and 300 feet above sea level, and has a comparatively low rain-fall and long dry periods. Its population density is low: 42 people on a village domain of 2850 acres (less than 10 per square mile). The best Inonda land is 580 acres of coarse-textured recent riverine deposits, covered with forest or regrowth and lying beside the Sambogo and Girua rivers. 133 132 161 162 134 137

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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tendency is to use money income to purchase goods needed for daily life but obtainable in the subsistence sector of the economy (Waddell and Krinks 1968: 192). Only a small minority of the goods used by Orokaiva fall into this category, but if the tendency to exclude most store-bought goods from the gift exchange system continues, we may expect that system gradually to decline in importance as the monetary sector of the economy increases.

In the political sphere, the traditional system of control is still generally in operation at the village level. Under this system some men may exert great influence over a community, but they cannot enforce compliance by physical sanctions. While the Orokaiva generally maintain this system, an exception is made for councillors and committee men acting under delegated power from the government. These men may lay complaints with Australian authority and in practice do not always disdain to do so. Among the New Zealand Maori, any leader who so much as threatens to invoke European authority risks being nicknamed 'Mr. Government' and losing all influence. Not so among the Orokaiva; the argument is that it is better for such powers to be used by an Orokaiva official than by the government itself. Nonetheless, use of authority outside the extended family goes against the Orokaiva ethos and undermines the exchange system in a minor way, because an official, by invoking his *authority*, can obtain something from Alter without becoming indebted to Alter. A traditional leader, under the same circumstances, might have incurred a debt or drawn on a kind of credit balance. Here again, the departure from the traditional exchange system does not greatly intrude in everyday affairs, but is symptomatic of the type of changes social development would bring. There has thus been a growing inconsistency between the norms of the traditional exchange system and the facts of labour migration, cash cropping, adherence to the Christian Church, attendance at meetings called by councillors, school education, use of medical services, changes in house architecture, participation in women's clubs, savings and loan societies, rubber co-operatives and the like. How, if at all, did Orokaiva thought cope with these basic inconsistencies?

I have explained how traditional institutions are accounted for. When I inquired why it is that mankind wears clothing, makes fires, contracts marriages, I would be told myths about the *dema* responsible for these institutions. I would also be told that after the *dema* had shown men how to act in these matters there had never been any change. There was primordial time during which men lived, one might say, in the state of nature. In spite of the absence of strife and death that era was not invariably represented as a happy one. Women were desolate because they had no men to marry, no fire to cook with, no houses to live in. In spite of most obstinate and desperate efforts, graphically described in the myths, mankind failed to get the things it needed. The *dema* thus brought release from suffering when they introduced cultural goods, techniques and rules of behaviour. But after the *dema* died, nothing ever changed again.

While such beliefs belie any suggestions that the Orokaiva are without history,[1] it remains true that the Orokaiva repertoire of historical explanations is very small. The actions of the *dema*, the scission of lineages comparable to the branches of a tree, the settlement of villages by men sleeping under a *barevo* tree – this completes the set of traditional historical explanations of which I have knowledge. How could the Orokaiva, confined to this set of concepts, find

613 the father's father of the oldest members of the dispersed clan
614 branch but the specific kinship relationships between these ancestors are forgotten.

The Jegase people do not name a putative founder of the dispersed clan branch. Nor do they assume that the eponymous ancestors of its subgroups were brothers. The single site of settlement of the ancestors of Jegase men in this neighbourhood is their only recognized evidence of common origin. But this focus of their common identity still offsets the more recent attenuation of intra-group relationships owing to dispersal. The lineages emerge as contrasted co-ordinate group-segments because their histories have diverged since they jointly occupied one territorial centre. There is no fiction of opposition between segments in genealogical terms.

Informants sometimes indicated a sense in which certain lineages are considered closer to each other than to the rest of the dispersed clan branch. This type of alignment seemed to be associated with a joint historical identification of these lineages with a part of their group's territory. It is possible that this in turn is due to a closer patrilineal connection now forgotten, but the people do not venture on this type of explanation.

(iii) Authority and land control in the descent group. Anthropologists have remarked on the indeterminate system of leadership in Orokaiva villages and descent groups and the lack of formal sanctions for authority, and government officials have found that continued lack of emerging leaders impedes the planning [622] of local government and village reforms. Williams discusses the 'absence of central authority' (1930:325) and the 'entire lack of any ceremony of chieftainship' (W.23): he points out (1930:104) that the titles for 'big men' (embo pani, embo dombo) imply only that they are 'men of importance who cannot claim to be leaders'.

[888] There was however, a recognized ascendancy of old men. The 'leader and ruler of any clan' was said to be the eldest of its men provided he was equal to the minimal requirements of the position and 'only in the larger clans, where there are well-defined family groups, does the question of hereditary succession appear, and then it is a somewhat faint appearance' (1928:125) - but only if the large clans are localized, for he says that where 'the clan is scattered, there is no single leadership' (1925:407). [622] On the other hand Reay (1953:115) says that 'the embo kiti, whom F.E. Williams called a "clan headman", but who is really more of a village headman whose position is hereditary within a certain lineage of the clan, has a limited authority which is backed by no sanctions' (embo kiti: first man).

556 [888] [178] Our brief investigations indicated that neither seniority by age nor seniority by genealogical position is invariably an attribute of the men who today exercise power among local agnates or have influence in a wider local group. This may indicate recent cultural change. These men very often achieve and maintain such a position as men who are personally active in a wide range of affairs[1] (delegation of responsibility by issuing orders is sometimes spoken of as characteristic of the European system of leadership). They will be vigorous gardeners,[2] organize feasts and participate in a wide range of traditional exchanges, at the same time building a reputation as a man who has acquired material wealth, e.g., livestock and - to a lesser extent now than formerly - traditional valuables.

555 Not the least of their assets may be a reputation as a practitioner of 'white' magic, or as a dangerous man who has assiduously developed the skills of a sorcerer. The roles of 'big men' with these attributes may not be directly related to their age or genealogical status in a descent group. There are often several such dominant figures in a village.

621 The diffuse pattern of authority evident in villages in the neighbourhood under discussion may be ascribed partly to the fact that the present nucleated settlements are the culmination of a series of what the people feel to have been enforced amalgamations [622] of independent kin groups. Even before this process began no source of political cohesion existed in the form of inherited positions of authority commanding the continuing allegiance of sizeable local groups of dependents.

625 The expansion of villages to embrace more kin groups was accompanied by a proliferation of independent minor leaders in a single local group, not by the consolidation of positions of power. A patrol report of 1948 also revealed that the large Isivita, Isoge and Awala 'native districts' had received so little attention from the District Office nearby that the organization of villages under village constables had been allowed to deteriorate 'almost to chaos' since the Japanese occupation. 'One constable was found looking after eight scattered hamlets.'[3] Moreover in some cases migration seemed to have been so extensive that the areas of a number of constables overlapped.

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[1] Cf. kiti ligari (p.30). [515]

[2] Polygamists were able to maintain larger garden areas than other men. On the incidence of polygamy in the past see Williams 1930:130.

[3] Note that in 1924-5 among the Aiga 4 of the 10 village constables were each in charge of 6 or more villages.

621 with some of their co-residents; nevertheless, common residence
614 implies some community of interest and a degree of group solidarity
that is reinforced by Administration and mission policies which
recognise villages rather than descent groups as functional
[431] entities.[1] Marriages between members of the different clan
[476] branches within the village reinforce this solidarity, which is
expressed in such ways as daily food gifts, co-operation in certain
tasks, and joint ceremonial activities.

(b) Social organisation[2]

614 (i) Descent. Every Orokaiva is recruited by birth into the
clan of his or her father. All members of a clan claim, but cannot
[611] necessarily trace, common descent from a usually eponymous ancestor.
Each clan is subdivided into named sub-groups or lineages which
[613] trace their origin to a named ancestor.[3] A lineage comprises, on
average, three households. Usually several clans are represented
in a single village, members of a single clan (clan branches) being
scattered among a number of neighbouring villages. Lineages are
much more localised in character, frequently being confined to a
single village and tending to occupy one section of it.

[622] (ii) Leadership. The Orokaiva social system incorporates no
central authority or hereditary leadership. Instead, it is
[554] characterised by 'big men' (embo dombo) and an ascendency of
elders who have proved themselves equal to the task. Such men
command the respect of the community - based upon observed qualities
of generosity, diligence, wealth, ability to make wise decisions and
skill in arranging ceremonial activities - but it confers no sanc-
tions.

571 (iii) Residence. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal,
but in practice people have a wide choice between the village of
patrilateral or matrilateral kin or of affines, and it may be
[592] changed at any time. The composition of individual households
[594] within the village likewise varies, although the basis is generally
the nuclear family. The distribution of clan branches through a
[614] number of villages is closely related to access to the group's
[166] land; hence initial motivation for a long-term change in residence

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[1] Cf. comments by Belshaw (1964:277) on villages and descent groups vis-à-vis government policy in Fiji.

[2] For a fuller account see Rimoldi 1966:29-75.

[3] Genealogical depth is slight, descent rarely being traced to an ancestor more remote than the grandfathers of the oldest men.

592 The average size of households[1] is 4.5 persons, otherwise expressed as 2.4 labour units.[2] Of the fifteen households in the sample at the beginning of the survey, only four had individual [249] holdings of cash crops and one man started a holding during the survey (coffee in all cases). Everybody had rights of access to a communal rubber plantation which was tapped by individuals on a rota system.

464 Most household heads have worked for wages as unskilled or semi-skilled labour (plantation workers, rubber tappers, domestic servants and labourers for the Australasian Petroleum Company). 871 The highest level of education reached by any householder was standard II.[3] Standard IV is the highest level attained within the sample (including children), although one absentee completed standard VI at a government school at Kokoda.

622 Although the sample includes the local government councillor for Sivepe and the adjoining villages of Binduta and Awala, he only recently arrived in the village and exerts limited authority.[4] [241] The village as a whole possesses no universally accepted spokesman or leader[5] and the repeated failure of communal ventures[6] may be related to this fact.

Economic holdings

433 Within the subsistence sector, a key factor in the pattern of exchanges is the fluctuating resources of particular foodstuffs in production at a given time in a given household: when an individual has no producing taro he is dependent on others, when he has excess he distributes. Significantly, at the time of the survey of

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[1] For the purposes of this survey, a household is a group of people [594] gardening, cooking, eating and budgeting together. It is basically the nuclear family, perhaps including unmarried kin or widowed or divorced parents (although these may operate as independent households). The household invariably resides under a single roof. Cases of two households living together occur and their frequency in Inonda helps explain the larger mean size of house.

[128] [2] Labour units were calculated on the following basis:

Age	5-9 years	10-14	15-19	20-44	45+
Male	0.1	0.3	0.8	1.0	0.8
Female	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.6

[3] See Appendix 1.4 [4] See Rimoldi 1966:55-6.

[554] [5] One man, adopted into Timumu clan, is asserting himself increasingly through his generosity, organising ability and industriousness.

[6] See pp.44-5 and Rimoldi 1966:84, 107-8.

A, [See Category 871, p. 307--Analyst]

512 more time than others, during the survey at least, on house building. During period I, while still living in the old village, he erected a temporary house on the new site. During period II he lived in this structure while building his permanent house, and this was completed during period III. As was pointed out above,[1] the amount of time spent in building during 1964 was much higher than in most years.

Only 17 per cent of his time is spent in activities related to the external agencies and the monetary sector. Of the comparatively small amount of time devoted to activities not directly productive, Paulus spent most on minor activities and social obligations. As with the leading man, little time is spent on visiting.

Mamoko. A widower aged about 56, Mamoko was captured in an inter-tribal raid on the Managalase people in the Hydrographers Range and adopted by his captor from Inonda. He married an Inonda woman and had several children. His two surviving sons are still resident and several daughters are married to men in other villages. He received no education but spent six years as a plantation labourer. Unlike many of his generation he was baptised as a Christian and regularly attends the village services. It is said that Mamoko would be the 'embo dombo' (big man) of the village if his wife were alive, since he knows most about the land and social relationships (which are of primary importance when organising feasts). However, as he has no wife to assist him and to lead the other women, he is unable to fulfil the role effectively. Instead, he gives advice to Lawrence, the accepted leader. In 1965, he and two other men, both rather younger than himself, made small coffee plantations on the north side of the Girua River. Some years later he gave his trees to his eldest son and staked out a harvested food garden near the present village site preparatory to planting cocoa, but he did not complete the scheme. During the survey, he spent a little time assisting the other men build the copra-drier and a little in collecting and splitting coconuts to make copra. His only cash income during the survey was from gifts, but immediately prior to the survey he had worked for some weeks on road-building.

The widower has the shortest working week of all the villagers, but 88 per cent of his time is devoted to directly productive activities. Over half is spent on the clearing, fencing and cultivation of subsistence gardens. Taro receives most attention, followed by yams,

[1] See p.138.

613 divided into sub-lineages.

614 There is no unitary leadership of a dispersed clan. The highest level of unitary leadership is usually that of the sub-clan or of linked co-resident sub-clans (as at Inonda), though we have heard of instances elsewhere in the Orokaiva area of leaders of senior sub-clans having some authority in respect of junior (i.e. more recently formed) branches of the same clan which are located in separate villages in the vicinity. The [622] leader of a sub-clan is referred to as the embo kiti or embo kiti jigari (first-born man or first-born leader), and of a village as the embo dombo (big man). The embo dombo of a village seems always to be embo kiti of his own sub-clan within it. These are descriptions of particular statuses and are not formal rank titles.

614 622 Leadership of the Andiriha sub-clan was shared between three individuals in a delicate balance. They were also in practice the leaders of the village as a whole for the Jego'undi are in a subordinate position. The first of the leaders was the eldest surviving son (by adoption) of the previous sub-clan leader. He does not now live in the village, but about two miles away on the Girua resettlement scheme. He pays frequent visits to the village and exercises considerable influence, particularly in land matters. He speaks of himself as the embo dombo of the village and embo kiti of his sub-clan. The second was a man descended from the Hohota branch of the Andiriha clan (which claims exclusive rights to a tract of land there, whereas the Inonda section of the clan does not claim exclusive rights to its land). He was a forthright, assertive man and was recognized as sub-clan leader for some years during the absence of the first man mentioned. He lived in the village and still claimed to be embo dombo and embo kiti (until his death during our stay) on the ground that the former leader had "left the village". The third leading citizen is the eldest surviving child of the first-born son of a former sub-clan leader (now deceased). He is at present the elected councillor for Inonda and neighbouring villages in the Higaturu Local Government Council. Being a young man he does not claim to be leader of the sub-clan but generally defers to his elders, though he often acts as their spokesman.

657 been at Ombi-Tara, in favour of briefer parties which distract less
423 from market oriented activities.[1]

182 There was verbal evidence at Ombi-Tara of further rejection of
[829] old customs since the introduction of tenure conversion. Informants often suggested that conversion marks the beginning of a new life - 'Before we were not using our land well but now we are changing everything and we will live better'. Several previous innovations in the Northern District have been greeted in like fashion (see Belshaw 1951:249, and Crocombe 1964a:29-32).

[622] Leadership in the traditional societies of Papua-New Guinea is
[554] generally not inherited but achieved through personal excellence in economic and political organisation and the main activities of the society including a knowledge of land tenure arrangements. It
[614] was decided by the members of the Mumu clan that their clan leader was too old to understand and adapt to the new land system. His son was not considered clever enough to succeed him and eventually the thirty-five year old son of the leader's brother was chosen as successor.

[621] The introduction of tenure changes tends to favour younger men who no longer need to defer to their elders for cash crop land. Tenure conversion at Ombi-Tara may also affect the balance of 'informal' authority in the area by altering the balance of land rights. Before conversion some individuals had rights to considerably larger areas of land than others. This was of some significance
[556] in determining status and prestige. Since conversion, each individual has rights to twenty acres of land. The long-term effect of this equalisation on social organisation and informal status and prestige systems may be of some significance.

[614] The functions of the clan leader are little changed by the new
[627] tenure system. As before, he has no jurisdiction over land held by individuals. He previously had limited authority to intervene if one man planted on another's land without permission and under the new system can prevent one man planting behind another's block. He is charged with preventing people from other clans or other areas planting on his clan's land in much the same way as before tenure conversion, with the difference that now his jurisdiction in this matter applies only to the clan land outside the blocks.

Obligations

571 Mutual assistance and mutual obligation patterns provide a system of social security, a form of institutional safeguard

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[1] Similar changes have been reported in another Orokaiva area by Crocombe (1966:71-2) and Hogbin (1966:81-3).

Jagase, thus making Sivepe basically into a two-clan village, into which some recent Garoubi immigrants remain to be integrated. Inonda, in 1951, consisted of 13 houses of which nine were inhabited by Andiriha, three by Jego-undi and one bachelor's house. In 1966, there were only seven houses, only one of which was occupied by Jego-undi. Hence, Inonda has almost ceased to be a two-clan village today.

I have written at length about modern Orokaiva leadership elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1967) and shall do little more here than summarise the conclusions already published. The scope and range of Orokaiva leadership has always been small, except for the heads of extended families (ohose) who had a very wide scope of authority. Each village had a set of experts who had unquestioned authority in their sphere of expertise. Examples are the medicine man, the hunting expert, dancing expert and some others. One of these experts, the feasting expert, is in fact the man of highest status in the clan or village and may be called its leader. A clan leader may take responsibility for such corporate actions as a modern clan performs, e.g., raise bride price for one of its members. Except in these circumscribed situations, he is esteemed and respected rather than obeyed. The village leader, in a multi-clan village, is usually the leader of the largest clan. In dealings with other villages, he is the man to whom most respect must be paid; it is here, and when acting as a feasting leader, that he most closely approaches the role of power-bearer. Even so, the Orokaiva word for "feasting leader" is pondo kiari ambo, i.e., feasting expert, and in explanation of his role informants always stress that it is based on expertise rather than on a more diffuse concept of status. I also found, after inquiring in Inonda, Hoborita and seven villages in the Sasembata district, that in fact the fathers of all these feasting leaders had occupied the same positions. Nonetheless, informants always denied that the office was inherited; rather, the fact of succession was explained by the transmission of the necessary knowledge from father to son.

Australian domination added at once the role of village constable to this somewhat acephalous pattern. One gathers from Monckton that the village constable was chosen on the assumption that he had been the traditional leader. How often that assumption was justified I do not know. In Inonda, he certainly was the Andiriha clan leader. In Sivepe, the situation was more complex. Until about 1939, Sivepe had no village constable of its own, but an Awala man was village constable for a wide area centred on Awala and including Sivepe. The first and only Sivepe village constable was a man now baptised under the name of Samuel but then called Jovareka. Jovareka appeared as witness to prove the innocence of two Sivepe men (from the Seho clan) who had been accused of murdering a small boy from Awala. He showed successfully that the village constable had trumped up a charge against the two Sivepe men and the government appointed Jovareka village constable in his place. Later, Jovareka's area was reduced to a more

621 manageable size. Jovareka was definitely not a hereditary leader in
622 Sivepa; in fact, he was not even born there. On the other hand, the
625 two men he saved belonged to the leading family of the Seho clan,
619 which is the dominant clan of Sivepa. In the circumstances, the law of reciprocity demanded that the Seho clan backed Jovareka as a suitable man to be village constable. His status was accordingly greatly enhanced.

625 The scope of his role, however, may easily be exaggerated. According to Samuel, he was put through a course of training of one day. He was told about how to take a case to court and how to get and give evidence. He was told not to belt anybody, but handcuff them. He had to check that houses were built properly, that sago roofs were replaced and lavatories built. He also had to see that the men cut the grass in the village and the women swept, and that the road built by the government was properly maintained. Each village had its own stretch of road to look after, and this was subdivided into sections for each of the men. This summary tallies [384] with the statements of other informants. We note that some of the included items (such as the women sweeping the village, the replacement of old sago roofs) are traditional activities and hardly required police supervision. Other of the included items, such as the building of lavatories, remained a dead letter until after the eruption, and it was not until 1965 that all houses actually had lavatories. [751] Furthermore, it is only now, with the fear of sorcery diminishing under the impact of Christianity, that anyone would dare to use a lavatory.

I asked Samuel whether he had ever handcuffed anyone or had anyone jailed. No, he had never used the handcuffs. He had never brought anyone from Sivepa to court. He had sent people from other, surrounding villages to court. Tax was never collected past Sangara in his day, he said, implying that his record would not have been so serene if he had had to collect the head tax. Two Sivepa men had actually been taken to court during his period of office, but not by him; it was done by a visiting patrol, for not tending the roads, but they were let off as they had just returned from a period of plantation work. Other Sivepa informants told me that the village constable made little difference to the way of life of the people and this must, I [627] think, be conceded. Nonetheless, Samuel was evidently called in as a mediator in quarrels in other villages and due to his influence, some cases went to court.

625 The evacuation camp seems to have placed a heavy burden on the
731 village constables as they were the middlemen between government and the village people, responsible for the distribution of food and supplies and the setting up of village organisation in the camp. The camp consisted in fact of a number of villages, closely together, in which the village constable was much more in charge than he ever had been. Permission to go back to the home area to check whether possessions had remained undisturbed and to collect food, also had to be given through the village constable who was put in charge of all such

astonishment about this kind of story, I was told in explanation that at the time of the eruption, the old people could not run away and the old people all died. For this reason, old customs and old knowledge died also; those who were left behind--the children who could run fast enough to escape--were forced to accept the new way of life as they knew no other.

This suggestion of an abrupt break in cultural tradition is of course in itself mythology. The continuity was obvious enough to the observer. Nonetheless, the belief in discontinuity was an important aspect of the modern Sangara self-group image. In the eruption, Sangara lost the people who used to make the decisions, who used to set patterns of behaviour. The survivors were forced to put the pieces together as best they could. Many customs vanished on the day of the eruption, e.g., polygyny; those customs which survive in Sivepa, however, mostly survived to some extent in Hohorita too. But when I asked my Hohorita informants whether father-in-law still chased his son-in-law with a firebrand this definitely appeared to be out of fashion. For traditional knowledge as well as custom, Sivepa was the repository of much that Hohorita had left behind. Almost all the mythology had been lost; the dancing was much inferior because the people were so much busier with their coffee; on the other hand, feasting ceremonial had remained mostly intact. Burial rites were no longer as Williams described them but very much the same as in Sivepa, i.e., the essentials were intact but a great deal of restraint had been introduced, the body was no longer dressed and laid out in the traditional manner and, most important of all, the widow was no longer expected to stay with the dead man after burial.

In matters of food, clothing, housing and village improvement, tools and skills I found most of the same features as in Sivepa. The differences I found were, to some extent, in the greater availability of money, in the larger number of educated people, the larger number of persons who had migrated to towns where they held skilled jobs, the intensive contact between this educated élite outside the village and the educated élite inside it, and as a result, as far greater awareness of ideological and political issues than could be found in Sivepa. Stephen, the government driver at Inonda, had a sophistication comparable to this educated group at Hohorita, but he was alone and exchanged ideas only when he was in Popondetta, away from the village where wider political and ideological ideas would have aroused little interest.

Section 4: Leadership in Hohorita

At the time of my arrival at Hohorita, the traditional leader, a man called Amos, had recently died. After his death, he was revered with much ceremony. Thus, during my stay, a naterari (Williams: 1930: 226) was set up, i.e., a post to taboo the coconuts and betelnuts

622 growing in the village and these were consumed in a big feast 18 months or so after his death. There was much discussion, during these 18 months, as to who should follow Amos as leader; when I left, no decision had been made. He had himself designated the son of his elder brother who died during the eruption, but this man is a government driver, living in Popondetta. The people would prefer a local man for leader, but there is no suitable resident member of Amos' own hag. and in practise it seems that the question of leadership was debated not so much by the people at large but by the men of Amos' hag and Amos' wife's hag--the latter also coming from a prominent Horeopa family. Some leadership roles were meanwhile being carried on by an adoptive half-brother of Amos' wife. This man, a mission teacher who was head of the Hohorita school, and one of my best informants (Harold Heru), was in charge of the preparations for the coconut feast commemorating Amos' death, but he deferred to Amos' brother's son (Michael) on the day of the feast itself, when Michael came over from Popondetta.

622 While these problems over ceremonial leadership were being
623 pondered, it was obvious that for most ordinary day-to-day decisions, the most powerful man in the village was the councillor (Brian Aruha). Brian, though without any formal schooling, was employed by the government as an interpreter in the fifties. His employers formed a high opinion of him and it was probably not without their encouragement that he stood as a candidate for the Higaturu Council and was subsequently chosen by councillors as their chairman. In the view of senior government officials in Popondetta, Brian's knowledge of the history, activities and purposes of the council was unequalled in the district. He did not earn this reputation by craven conformity; indeed, I observed him at council meetings as a doughty opponent of the views of the government's advisory officer, even though he sometimes found himself arguing a strong case in a minority of one, for the other councillors tended to be rather deferential to the advisory officer.

622 Brian's power in Hohorita was much less absolute than Stephen's
554 at Inonda because Hohorita has a far greater number of leading figures. On the other hand, in the judging of disputes and in arranging the land conversion scheme described in earlier chapters, he wielded more power than any single person in Sivepa. In contrast with the Inonda and Sivepa leaders, Brian did not belong to the leading clan (Horeopa) nor to either of the other three well-represented clan groups. His real home was Sombou; at Amos' coconut feast he appeared as the leader of the dominant Sombou clan and in that capacity received gifts in recognition of services which this village had rendered after Amos' death--the traditional services expected from a neighbouring, closely-related village. Thus the power he wielded at Hohorita had the effect of spreading power beyond the dominant Horeopa clan, thus helping in the integration of the different clan groups.

622 Brian was assisted by a "committee" man who also came from one
624 of the smaller clan groups and who had at one time been a medical

622 624 orderly. This man, like the "committee" in Sivepa, was responsible for the disciplinary aspects of local government--law and order, hygiene, organisation of working parties. The giving of such orders was not considered "fitting" for the councillor who kept aloof and worked through the "committee" as intermediary while still making the basic decisions. This dual control was convenient when, for instance, the councillor wanted old houses rebuilt and set along a straight line determined by him, while the people were not very enthusiastic. It never became clear just whose authority was treated lightly; no doubt the leaders are waiting for some excuse, such as a feast, for pressing the urgency of renovation. The councillor was, above all, the ideologist for the New Day.

794 474 454 952 Two other formal organisations in Hohorita pursued ends likewise related to development. One of them was a church committee similar to the one at Sasembata; the second was a cooperative known as "Village Improvement" (in English) which was raising money for a purpose yet to be determined. It might be a trade store or a truck. By the time I left, this committee had accumulated almost $1,000, and the purpose then had again been changed: the intention became to invest the money under a government-sponsored scheme for village "Savings and Loan" societies which follow the principle of credit unions.

474 452 The composition of this committee was interesting: it did not include the councillor, but consisted of the head teacher at Hohorita, and a priest and a public servant both resident in Popondetta. All three belonged to the Hvreopa clan but all three were, by residence and profession, somewhat remote from the village way of life. A number of the villagers who contributed expressed for this scheme the kind of romantic enthusiasm characteristic of many Papuan cooperative movements; it was seen as a means to raise the Papuan to the same level of power as the European. I was told that loans would be granted only for equipment of permanent value--sewing machines, house building materials, lawnmowers, coffee machines and a vague and ominous category described as "special things." There were 66 members.

521 It struck me that at Hohorita, in contrast to other places, individuals and groups were keen to engage me in protracted discussions on ideological and economic matters. It was evident that this was not a mere show and that discussions of the same sort were frequent also in my absence. It was at Hohorita that I first learned, and in the clearest terms, Orokaiva views on race relations, on the significance of the councils and cash cropping, on Africa, on the Americans. Participants in the discussion were often the educated minority which seemed to set the tone for social thought: the ex-mission teachers, ex-medical orderlies, ex-drivers, ex-shopkeepers, etc.--a total of 20 men who had to some extent mastered some Western skilled occupation, and who had chosen to return to their own village. Very often it was the chance of cash cropping that had brought them back home, for they knew that they could thus get financial security and a good life. Some

241 of "dry" gardening, with fire and the digging stick as the essential tools, and either long term rotation of previously occupied areas or breaking in of new forest land. "The immediate family . . . is a self sufficient unit" and "the Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same." Con-
621 sistent with this mobile economic base, settlements are rarely more than hamlet size, with "hardly more than a dozen houses" on the average. Materials for housing are readily available, so that residence can be easily shifted.

The hamlet is based normally on patrilocal-patrilineal principles of organization, with a known strong tendency for new groups to form by "hiving off." Clan affiliations are
[614] reckoned from quite recent ancestors, so that at times a given clan may all be in one settlement, though more usually scattered through several closely related settlements. The
592 generally monogamous family units are under the "immediate
62 authority of the father," while the affairs of the local living
622 units are under loose supervision by the hamlet and clan elders, centered on a "men's house" and working together, usually with one strong senior man as "leader." Personal
422 property consists of mobile goods such as tools and utensils, clothing, and body ornaments.

181 In spite of ethnic similarities over a wide region, Williams speaks of the Orokaiva as being a "more than usually quarrelsome and disunited people"—a strong statement to make in the New Guinea setting. Their pre-pacification history was marked by "feuds, dispersals . . . a veritable whirlpool of strife, migration, and counter-migration." Beaver, too, refers to their "turbulent and restless life . . . migration was, in
[154] the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing." Supernatural weapons in the form of sorcery were especially feared. Even for Papuans, the Orokaiva proved to be unusually
[562] hostile and resistant to whites. Women were often seen ac-
[706] companying the war parties, carrying food and weapons, and sometimes joining in fights. Williams goes on to say that while the "elementary small sympathy-groups" (the local
[628] kin and settlement units, and to a lesser extent the dispersed clan units) were tightly knit, their external relations were
[728] precarious. "There were peacemakings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no (settlement) lived in permanent security." "Hiving off" occurred sometimes
361 as the result of a "quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic,"
241 but more often it was "simply the lax method of horticulture
[578] which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site." Another factor could have been food scarcities which tend
361 to occur in exceptionally dry southeast winter seasons. During
261 this period, north and west Lamington area is in a rainshadow zone, and people may have to scatter out to live on wild
931 roots and fruits. The implication of this is that even the
165 excision of the 4,000 persons from the Orokaiva group who were killed involved no extensive shattering of valued ties.

361 Williams and others judge that with the modern pacifica-
178 tion, the Orokaiva have tended to disperse in even smaller living units than before. This appears to apply particularly
[499] to the relatively densely populated Lamington slopes, though a few instances of larger aggregations approaching a village
361 type also occurred, particularly as a result of Mission influ-
571 ence. Over against this greater dispersal, the people have;